

The Taboo of Performing Wayang Puppet in Arcawinangun, East Purwokerto

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Article history

Received : 2022-07-24

Accepted : 2022-09-10

Published : 2022-09-30

Keywords

Taboo,
Performing art,
Wayang puppet,
Arcawinangun,
East Purwokerto.

Abstract: This research aims to uncover the taboo of performing wayang puppets in Arcawinangun, Banyumas Regency. The research method uses the historical method. Heuristics are carried out by collecting folklore data processed through external and internal criticism to obtain intellectual historical facts at the local level. This fact is interpreted concerning local wisdom, which produces Banyumas' intellectual historiography. People of Arcawinangun deem the story of the birth of sacred Parikesit and feel the trauma of the effect of the war of the Bharatas or Bharatayuda. The battle depicts the cruelty and violence causing family members to become victims. To forget it, people create a non-sacred story known as *carangan*. Bharatayuda passed down sins through murders justified by swear and curses. The war caused the annihilation of the Kauravas, followed by that of the Pandavas. The Pandavas indeed remain intact, but they lost their offspring.

Abstrak: Tujuan penelitian ini mengungkap tabu pertunjukan wayang kulit di Arcawinangun kabupaten Banyumas. Metode penelitian menggunakan metode sejarah. Heuristik dilakukan dengan mengumpulkan data folklore yang diproses melalui kritik ekstern dan intern sehingga diperoleh fakta sejarah intelektual di tingkat lokal. Fakta tersebut diinterpretasikan dengan acuan kearifan lokal yang menghasilkan historiografi intelektual Banyumas. Hasil penelitian tentang tabu pertunjukan wayang pada masyarakat Arcawinangun bersumber dari kisah cerita kelahiran Parikesit dan perang Bharatas atau Bharatayuda yang memunculkan trauma. Pertempuran tersebut menggambarkan kekejaman dan kekerasan yang menyebabkan anggota keluarga menjadi korban. Untuk melupakannya, orang membuat cerita non-sakral yang dikenal sebagai *carangan*. Bharatayuda menurunkan dosa melalui pembunuhan yang dibenarkan dengan sumpah dan kutukan. Perang menyebabkan pemusnahan Kurawa diikuti oleh Pandawa. Pandawa memang tetap utuh, tetapi mereka kehilangan keturunannya.

Cite this article: Priyadi, S. Kosasih, A.D., Nugroho, A.S. (2022). The Taboo of Performing Wayang Puppet in Arcawinangun, East Purwokerto. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 32 (2), 230-242. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v32i2.37834>

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the taboo of having shadow performances in Arcawinangun, which is located in the Subdistrict of Purwokerto Timur, Banyumas regency, Central Java Province. The taboo has something to do with people's daily life in the past in the realm of art as an expression of socializing. It shows that cultural reality is formed by the relation of several historical periods, which can be seen as the continuation of insider thoughts.

Besides that, this paper also aims to discover the meaning of the taboo in Arcawinangun. Wayang puppet performance has existed for centuries. It is alleged that it has been held as a ceremony to honor their ancestors since pre-historic times. It is a performance that contains teaching or pieces of advice for the older generation to their successors without patronizing. The ancestors of the Indonesian people provide an opportunity for the younger generation to develop their thoughts and analysis of the cultural phenomenon so that new interpretations of several periods can be



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seen. Today's people can produce new reception to the older ones. That is what happened with the wayang puppet performance in Java so that the problem of originality and authenticity becomes blurred because the creativity of the Javanese people never dies and keeps changing. Wayang's story keeps evolving from the form of *parwa*, followed by *kakawin*, and continued until now with modern Javanese literary works in the form of *macapatan*. It has been the indication that the Javanese people are dynamic. It can be predicted that another change in the wayang story will make wayang an excellent art form (*adiluhung*).

The novelty of this research is the writing of the local intellectual history of Banyumas as an initial pioneer. Initial research was conducted by Sugeng Priyadi and published under the title *Makna Simbolik Tabu Pertunjukan Wayang Kulit di Purbalingga, Karesidenan Banyumas, Jawa Tengah* (Sugeng Priyadi, 2007: 34-56), it was written that the taboo of shadow puppet performances in the Banyumas residency area was widely found. It is a myth identical to the Serayu river basin, which is always associated with the existence of the Dieng Plateau, with a cluster of temples associated with the wayang puppet myth. Folklore in the Banyumas community found stories that Banyumas was one of the settings for the Bharatayuda war, so the Bharatayuda play was sacred and subsequently tabooed by the local community. This myth also develops in the Arcawinangun community, who believe in the final chapter of Bharatayudha, namely the story of Parikesit's birth and coronation, as a series of Bharatayuda stories that are taboo to be shown.

METHOD

This research was carried out using historical and folklore research methods. The folklore method is used because it is an auxiliary science in historical research, especially intellectual history at the local Banyumas level. The data collected is in the form of oral folklore through the search and discovery of critical informants as active heirs of folklore (Danandjaja, 1985, pp. 1-21). The active heirs are generally *dalangs*, community leaders, older people (over 60 years old), or educated people in rural areas whose numbers are very limited. For example, Sudiro, Sukemi, Wanto, Slamet, and Slamet P. Search techniques Active heirs can be started with a key informant who will then appoint other people who may be able to provide further information about the folklore being collected so that, like a snowball, over time, researchers can find more and more active heirs. After the active heirs were found,

interviews were conducted in two ways: undirected and targeted interviews. In each interview, the researcher must record the identity of the active heir consisting of name, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, place of birth, language spoken, place of interview, and date of interview (Danandjaja, 1984, p. 217).

Field notes or recorded interviews must be transcribed into written form. Then, the criticism made on the sources of folklore is taken by determining the general characteristics or systems, namely the comparative method by classifying the folklore that has been collected (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 45). Jan Harold Brunvand, a folklorist from the United States, has divided folklore into three parts: oral folklore (Danandjaja, 1984, p. 21). The researcher checks the information of each active heir to other active heirs about the folklore that has been collected so that the contents can be accounted for by external and internal criticism procedures in the criticism or verification step (Gottschalk, 1983, p. 34; Kartodirdjo, 1982, pp. 63-67; and Kuntowijoyo, 1995, pp. 89-105) in order to obtain facts in the form of mentifacts as a contribution to the writing of intellectual history or the history of ideas in the form of folklore facts (Kartodirdjo, 1992, pp. 176-177; Brinton, 1985, p. 201). In the interpretation step of the fact, it requires in-depth knowledge of the socio-cultural background of the Banyumas rural community because traditional historiographical works often tend to obscure two kinds of historical realities, namely the objective reality that occurs and the reality that is real within oneself. The first is a fact which is an experience, while the second is a fact in the form of a collective cultural appreciation (Abdullah, 1985, pp. 22-23). The community understands the meaning of an event as a new reality so that changes can occur in the form (metamorphose) of events, values, and characters (van Peursen, 1990, p. 58). The personification process can occur with changes from ideas, values, and norms into historical figures (Abdullah, 1985, p. 26), or conversely, depersonification occurs from historical figures into ideas, values, and norms. Furthermore, the results of the interpretation are presented at the last step in the form of historical works (historiography) in the form of intellectual history at the local Banyumas level as a manifestation of human interaction with the natural environment, social environment, and cultural environment.

SACRED AND NON-SACRED STORY

The stories in wayang puppets used to be sacred ones because almost all forms of art were initially integrated into the rites for honoring ancestors or ways to give social meaning to the legacy of the past. The ancestor-related stories are familiar stories that people of the same era understand, so they are purely historical ones or ones that are real. The story of a prominent figure who died at a certain time is merely a biography in the eyes of people of the same era. They are not foreign because they are well known by their contemporaries or a younger or older generation. However, most often in their development, those stories are narrated in a very different form because the generations who re-narrate are not as close as those of the same generation.

Those of the same generation know the good and bad of the figure, while those not experiencing a kind of generation are distant from the figure. That can be regarded as natural because society had not moved from oral to written tradition then. All related to past stories become collective social memory, which may experience additional and reduced information. That is a common phenomenon along with the lessening of human memory due to the aging factor and various problems in their lives. Life pressure and personal problems may also retard one's ability and accuracy to recall past events.

People of the succeeding generations do not experience the stories. Therefore, when retelling them, they lack consistency. People are in between the correct and incorrect versions of the stories. This condition will lead people to the standard version, which means they will not consider whether the version is accurate. The present-day narrator tends to make the stories more detailed with a new perspective. Therefore, the new generation tends to create new legends and myths, which will become old in the future. The new legends are created to give meaning to and honor their predecessors and their legacies. Figures in the past were ordinary persons turned into superhumans because the new generation did not have enough information about the good and bad sides of the person. If the figures come from much older times, they become mythical ones with more superior descriptions than legendary ones, having the nature of a deity or half deity. Stories that were negative turn into positive and even highly positive.

Contact between Javanese people and the *Mahabharata* epic happens through its translation from Sanskrit into the old Javanese in the form of *parwa*. The *Kakawin Bharatayudha* has become a

sacred episode because of its age. The episode contains a *titimangsa* or *candrasengkala* or *time signal*, which reads *sanga-kuda-Sudha-candrama*, which denotes 1079 in Saka Year or 1157, or the same era of King Jayabhaya. (Porbatjaraka, 1964, p. 24). Thus, if counted from 2012, the story of *Baratayuda* has already been 855 years, an extended period. That period has made the story part of daily life. The closeness of the Javanese people with the stories has made it as if it had happened in Java. It is followed by wayang topography in various parts of Java, which people claim relates to what happens in *Mahabharata* stories. It creates a feeling among the Javanese people that the characters in the wayang stories are their ancestors, which deepens their internalization. Examples are Madura island, where Baladeva reined, and Dieng plateau, which is associated with *Saptaarga*, a site that *Abyasa* used for meditation. Temples in Dieng are named after wayang characters. In other places of Banyumas residency, there are *Kendalisada*, *Gunung Pawinihan*, *Sokalima*, *Jurang Silongsor*, *Sirkandi*, etc.

Wayang is also subject to localities, as it happens in Arcawinangun. People are very familiar with the stories in wayang, including the *Perang Baratayuda* – the Bharata war. Initially, the staging of *Perang Bharatayuda* as a wayang puppet performance did not create a problem. However, the stories cause people sorrow due to the deaths of prominent characters, such as Bhishma, Karna, Drona, Shalya, and Duryodhana on Khurava's side.

Bhishma, the crown prince of Santanu who sacrificed himself for his father's interest, was the first to die from the Khurava's side. Bhishma was the mentor for the two warring sides. Khurava and Pandhava both had great respect for Bhishma, who sided with Duryodhana because he was the former crown prince of Astina. He did not defend Duryodhana, and he defended the country.

Adipati Karna was the oldest of the Pandhavas because he was the son of Kunthi before she married Pandhu. Adipati Karna defended Astina because Duryodhana appointed him as the King of Awangga. Besides, the Pandhavas did not know that they had the same mother. Pandhavas only knew that Karna was the son of a coachman. In terms of blood, Karna was closer to the Pandavas than to Duryodhana or Khuravas. At the end of this episode, the death of Karna caused sorrow and disappointment among the Pandhavas, Yudhistira, and his brothers.

Rishi Drona was the guru of both Khuravas and Pandhavas. Drona sided with Khurava because the latter provided him with worldly comfort in

Astina. He, humiliated by Drupada, got the cure in Astina, although it was Pandhavas who could get revenge Drupada. For the Pandavas, Drona was a respectable guru. As disciples, Pandhavas seemed to learn better than the Khuravas. For Drona the Pandhavas were more devoted to gaining the skills like arching, using *gadha* (mace), and throwing a spear, which later was proved in a war. His death by Thrishtadyumna, caused deep sorrow for the Pandavas, especially Arjuna.

Shalya was the King of Madra, who had a kinship with Pandavas because the mother of Nakula and Sahadeva was his sister. Shalya was physically partial to Kauravas. Heartily, he was with the Pandavas. When he died in the battle, the Pandavas mourned deeply. His death was regarded as the karma of his dislike of his parents-in-law. On the one hand, he loved Satyawati but disliked his parents-in-law, who were giants. As a knight, he should have been able to love the daughter and her parents simultaneously.

The climax was when Duryodhana, the power-craven ambitious king, reined Hastinapura. Duryodhana was a heinous character for the society that favors the Pandhavas, so they can agree when Werkudara (Bhima) broke the rule in the Bharatayudha by hitting Duryodhana's left thigh. While Bhima hated Duryodhana very much, Yudhisthira thought the event had to be forgotten. Yudhisthira did not hate the father and mother of Duryodhana after the war. He kept regarding them as his loved elderly. However deep the hate felt, they mourned the Kauravas' death because they were their brothers. When sadness appeared, regret followed. The death of Dursasana (Dushasan), with his body torn to pieces, was an act of cruelty but regarded as natural because it occurred due to the curse of Bhima and Draupadi. Dushasan sexually harassed Draupadi when she became the bet in gambling, so it was justified for Bhima to tear the body of Dushasan into pieces and drink his blood as he had vowed to do. It was also justified due to the previous vow for Draupadi to shampoo her hair with the blood of Dushasan. The scene depicting the death of Dushasan by Bhima created a horrifying effect when seen in the shadow puppet performance, although the viewers think it justifiable. The casualties on the Pandhava side saddened the viewers of the performance as the death of Rishi Seta, Abhimanyu, and Ghatotkacha. Rishi Seta was the crown prince of Virata, who died following the death of his two brothers, Uttara and Vratsangka. The death of these three sons caused sorrow to the father, Matswapati, the King of Virata. The loss of

the three sons was compensated with the birth of Parikshit after the Kurukshetra war (Bharata war).

The climax of the sorrow was at the death of Abhimanyu, who was the favorite son of Arjuna. The exciting event in the life of Abhimanyu was when he married the princess of Virata and the princess of Dvaravati. The love story of Abhimanyu and Sundari is the main topic of *Kakawin Gatotkacasraya*. It was then followed by the love story between Abhimanyu and Utari. The latter was romanticized with an oath, resulting in his future death. The death of Abhimanyu left a pregnant widow who then bore Parikshit. The fate of Parikshit was similar to that of his grand grandfather, Pandhu. They were cursed due to their behavior which led to their deaths. The death of Parikshit followed the sorrow caused by the death of Abhimanyu. This sorrow is also deeply felt by the Javanese audience so that the wayang performance depicting the episodes of the Kurukshetra (Bharata) war is avoided.

People feel sad and regretful with the justification of bad behavior, curses vows that lead to death, and cruelties that humans can tolerate, which in turn cause the audience to tolerate violent episodes. Avoiding violent episodes makes people turn to ordinary, more entertaining episodes - one without violence and scary, saddening things that create regret and inconvenience. The ordinary episodes are those non-sacred stories. Therefore, *carangan* (*made up*) stories about the Pandhavas or Khuravas, but not touching the Bharatayudha. Carangan stories are those in a level as the twigs and leaves of a tree as a form of Javanese creativity. When one is freed from something mythical, one becomes creative. Branch or stem stories are avoided because they deal with Bharatayudha. Branch and stem stories are heavy, while twigs or leaves are light. Made-up stories are entertaining, funny, and pure amusement, not educating ones like Bharatayudha.

Nevertheless, a carangan stories can have elements of education, such as Javanese Sufism stories, for example, the story of Dewa Ruci. Even sacred stories can gradually undergo desacralization or profanation, which happens as the wayang episodes undergo authentic humanization, as in the angelic deities behaving as human beings or gigantic wayang characters being defeated by an ordinary human being. Finally, gods are no longer sacred (Kuntowijoyo, 2001, p. 216).

ADIPATI KABAKAN-ADIPATI MERSI

People of Mersi believe that they are descendants of a maharishi who is Drona and Maitreya. Drona was

related to the birth of Parikshit because his son, Ashwatthama, unintentionally killed the son of Abhimanyu and his wife Utari. The second Maharishi, Maitreya, was the one who cursed that Duryodhana would get killed when his left thigh was smashed with a mace by Bhima (Mulyono, 1983, p. 67). However, Drona is regarded as closer to the heart of Mersi people because there is a folktale which states that the Adipati of Kabakan killed the Adipati (regent) of Mersi, and the remains were thrown into an underground canal, which then floated in *bale kambang*. The present-day football field of Mersi likely used to be the *bale kambang*, which got water from Pelus river, which got water from the source near Kabakan. The fate of Adipati Mersi is similar to that of Ashwatthama. Ashwatthama infiltrated Pandhavas territory through a dug underground tunnel in Kabakan, Arcawinangun, called *gorong-gorong batu cadas* (the rocky underground canal).

The Adipati of Kabakan, based on the spoken tradition, was Banyak Catra, who came from Pajajaran. In Babad Pasir, Banyak Catra was widely known as a thief who stole the heart of Princess Ciptarasa's daughter of Adipati, Kandha Daha, of Pasir Luhur. The Adipati himself had twenty-five daughters, one of whom was the youngest, Ciptarasa, the only one who was not married yet. Ciptarasa was the woman of Banyak Catra's dream, a woman who resembled his mother, the queen of the Pajajaran Kingdom. The love story of Banyak Catra and Ciptarasa was a backstreet one, so he was wanted in Pasirluhur. Banyak Catra used an alias of Kamandaka and became the target of capture by the Adipati of Pasirluhur. The name Kamandaka became Kabakan. Adipati of Mersi, the son-in-law of Adipati of Pasirluhur, was assigned to capture Kamandaka.

The conflict between Kabakan and Adipati of Mersi was an inter-ethnic cultural one, namely, between Javanese and Sundanese. The conflict becomes a melting pot between the two ethnicities, with Kamandaka being accepted as the twenty-fifth son-in-law of Adipati Pasirluhur. The inter-ethnic marriage resolved the cultural conflict, which can be explained from a dialectical point of view, with the arrival of Kamandaka in Pasirluhur as the thesis and the stealing of the princess's heart as the anti-thesis, during the marriage between Kamandaka and the princess Ciptarasa as the synthesis or the new thesis.

Kamandaka, or Banyak Catra as the husband from the Pajajaran Kingdom, is the thesis, and with Ciptarasa as the anti-thesis, the synthesis is Banyak

Wirata. Banyak Wirata is the mixing between the Sundanese and Javanese cultures and will be preserved by their descendants that constituted the dynasty of Pasirluhur, Banyak Rama, Banyak Kesumba, Banyak Geleh, Prince Perlangon, and Prince Langkap. Banyak Catra has a Sundanese cultural background, while Ciptarsa has the Javanese one.

The conflict between Adipati Kabakan against Adipati Mersi was also the conflict between Buddhism and Maharshi (shiva Maharshi). In the beginning, the shiva branch of Hinduism developed in Arcawinangun. Buddhists might have ever widely adhered to Arcawinangun, with gong stones as the artifact evidence, which are parts of a stupa. The proof is that a Ganesha statue was discovered in Karangwangkal, and is now kept in the National Museum of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta. When the temple was discovered, the Ganesha statue might have been thrown away from Arcawinangun. At the same time, the statue of the Shiva was buried in the North Arcawinangun, which raised a curse on people who did it. The whereabouts of the statue of Durgamahisasuramardini are not known. The statue of Shiva the Maharishi or Agastya (Poerbatjaraka, 1992, p. 41) was believed to be brought somewhere in the south, especially in Mersi. Mersi is another version of pronouncing Mahareshi according to the belief of its followers, which made them feel they are descendants of Mahareshi. Buddhist followers might have dismantled Hindu temples and replaced them with Buddhist characteristics. However, that did not seem to work. Nevertheless, the replacement statue that was not detected is that of Durga, which raised the question of where the statue was thrown away.

The famous Hindu temple is now known as the Makam Mbah Karta (grave of Mbah Karta). Mbah Karta was the alias of the temple's original name, namely Prabhu Krtabhuwana Yasawiguna Haji Mulya. Krtabhuwana was the title of Hariang Banga, who died in 784 AD. Banga was the son of Rahyang Tamperan (Rakai Panaraban, the King of Mataram, 784-803 AD) (Poerbatjaraka, 1975, p. 37) and the grandson of Sanjaya, the King of Mataram, who died 746 AD (Darmosoetopo, 2003, p. 29). Therefore, Banga comes from the branch of Galuh Baru (new Galuh) or Galuh Luar (outer Galuh) from the Mandiminyak-Senna line. In Purwokerto, there is a toponym called Purwonegoro (becoming Purbanegara) which explains its relation with Galuh Purba (ancient Galuh) (van der Meulen, 1988, p. 79). After 12 years, or 796 AD, a Craddha ceremony was held to build a temple for Prabhu Krt-

abhuwana called Krtabhuwanam or Krtabhuvanam. Hariang Banga, or Krtabhuwana was declared as the realization of Shiva Supreme God. The existence of a temple in Arcawinangun is momentarily supported by a trace of a temple in the village Dawuhan Wetan (East Dawuhan), Kedungbanteng District, Banyumas Regency, which is believed to have a style of temples in Dieng Plateau, which is of course older. These facts reinstate that Banyumas territory is part of the Ancient Mataram Kingdom, which adhered to Hinduism much earlier than Dieng Plateau (Mertadiwangsa, 1993, pp. 11-18) and Prambanan. At the western corner of Krtabhuwanam temple is a pervara temple with a Buddhist style.

Hariang Banga, or Arya Bangah as often called in a manuscript of a family tree in Banyumas, is the founder of the Pasirluhur dynasty. He is the ancestor of all adipatis who reined Pasirluhur for five generations, namely Dewa Rangka Agung, Dewa Manda Rangka, Dewa Ciung Rangka, Dewa Ciring Gandul, and Kandha Daha. The first four names sound Balinese. That is why the people of Arcawinangun think that Mbah Kerta is Balinese on the one hand but Pasirluhurese on the other. The people of Arcawinangun seem to be afraid of singing *Babad Pasirluhur* (Pasirluhur saga). It is Arya Banga, the ancestor of Pasirluhur's Adipatis, who van der Meulen says to have driven away the ancestors of Syailendra from Banyumas territory by Sanjaya and his offspring. Syailendra, who came from Malay with the Malay title in Old Malay *dapunta* (Boechari, 1966, p. 245; Darmosoetopo, 2003, p. 28), moved from Banyumas (Sailarong) or Arcawinangun and Mersi to Purbalingga as can be seen from Bukateja inscription, down eastward to Gunung Raja in Banjarnegara, next to Gunung Pawinihan as mentioned in *Tantu Panggalaran* (van der Meulen, 1988, p. 81). Gunung Pawinihan is located north of Serayu River. It is a name identical to Raja Gunung or Syailendra, who then moved to Temanggung and Batang as written in the Prasasti (inscription) Sojomerto. There is also the trace of Ho-ling, for example, the toponym of Mandiraja, derived from Raja Mandiminyak. Mandiminyak was the King of Galuh Baru (New Galuh) Kingdom, the son-in-law of Queen Sima. The marriage of Mandiminyak with the daughter of Ho-ling gave Sannaha. Sannaha then gave Sanjaya. The Purwonegoro toponym discovered in Purwokerto was also found in Banjarnegara. It might be the line from Purwokerto, Banjarnegara, until Bagelen (van der Meulen, 1988, p. 79).

The replacement of the Hindu temple with Buddhists did not seem to materialize. What was

left was the name Baka dan Makam Panjang (the grave of Panjang, also called Makjam Budha (the grave of Budha)). The name Baka has something to do with Kabakan dan Kali Baka (Baka River). Later Kabakan becomes a name that is identical to Kamandaka. It was a name identical to Ratu Baka (Queen Baka), located south of Prambanan. Casparis noted that the Bukit Ratu Baka (the Hill Ratu Baka) is called *watualang*. Watualang derives from the word *walaing*, namely *wka lwah ing*, which means *tributary* or Galuh. Therefore Watualang is Watugaluh (van der Meulen, 1988, p. 122)

Prasasti Ratu Baka indeed mentions Syailendra. It shows that Ratu Baka had a relationship with Syailendra. On the hill of Ratu Baka, Balaputra piled stones to build a fortress or a hiding place during a war against Jatiningrat. It is mentioned in Prasasti Ciwagrha issued by Rakai Pikatan in 856 AD. Jatiningrat is a name of a priest or supreme priest of Rakai Pikatan (Slametmuljana, 2006, pp. 192 & 229; Darmosoetopo, 2003, p. 35)

Balaputra is the youngest son of Samaragrawira (Samaratungga) and the young brother of Pramodawardhani. He was expelled from Mataram between 842 and 856. In 856, there was a transfer of power to Dyah Lokapala marked with the construction of *halu* (big pester) and three *linggas* (big mortar) on the hill of Ratu Baka after the defeat of Balaputra. It was Pu Kumbhayoni the other name Rakai Kayuwangi Dyah Lokapala (856-884), who built the linggas. Since then, the Kingdom of Ratu Baka, Syailendra (Mahayana Buddhism), turned into the Shiva Kingdom with *Mdang i Mamrati* as the capital (Ras, 1991, p. 296). As a result of the expel, Balaputra became the King of Srivijaya (Slametmuljana, 2006, pp. 238-241). The trace of Kanakan as a mark of Balaputra's presence in Arcawinangun was the marriage of Kamandaka with the youngest daughter. Was the mixed story of Kabakan and Kamandaka meant to insult Syailendra? In this case, Syailendra was associated with a daughter, not a son, although he could defeat the Maharshi. This story seems to be the opposite of the one inscribed in the Ciwagrha Inscription because it was there that Balaputra was defeated by a brahmin named Jatiningrat. The association of Balaputra with a daughter might have happened due to his failure to build a Mahayana Buddhist temple at the shiva temple compound in Arcawinangun.

Balaputra was believed to be able to build an underground canal taking water from Pelus River in Kabakan and build a bale kambing as his palace in Mersi. The stream of water from Kabakan to Mersi was a symbol that Kabakan could conquer

the followers of Maharshi or Agastya, whom was Endranata, deemed the Adipati of Mersi. This part of Babad pasir got complicated because Endranata was identical to Raja Indra (King Indra, King of Mount), which was the characteristic of Syailendra Dynasty. Balekambang was the palace of Syailendra, which was surrounded by water. The water was taken from Kabakan through an underground canal. Endranata was King Indra from Syailendra dynasty. Therefore although able to drive Maharshis away, Balaputra from the Syailendra dynasty was killed. Alternatively, in other words, he suffered a defeat or had to leave Arcawinangun. What was left from Syailendra was a story about Makam Panjang (long grave) or Makam Buddha (Buddha grave), Kabakan, and an underground canal.

The name Baka in Mahabharata was known as the king of Ekacakra (in another version Eracakra), who always demanded booty in the form of a human and a cart full of rice for his people. Baka, or Bakasura was an evil giant who ate cruel and powerful human flesh (Susetya, 2007, p. 70; Rajagopalachari, 2008, p. 498). Werkudara killed him in a fierce fight (Saleh, 1978, pp. 30-31). Another figure named Baka, namely Hidimbaka or Kamsa (Hamsa) was also ferocious. Kamsa was the uncle of Kresna or the son of Ugrasena, who was killed by Kresna (Rajagopalachari, 2008, pp. 504 & 507). In the text of *Serat Kandhaning Ringgit Purwa*, Baka was the son of Bandung Pragosa, the devil king from Medang Kamulan. Tamhud took over the Kingdom of Medang Kamulan. The name Medang Kamulan was changed into Gilingwesi. After Thamud died, Gilingwesi was reined by Tugena, Tahmud's son. Tugena had two wives, who were sisters named Dewi Sinta and Dewi Landep. Tugena was defeated by Baka (Ras, 1990, p. 124). Baka in *Serat Kandhaning Ringgit Purwa* was not the same as in Prambanan legend. The description of Baka as a human-eating evil giant or as the descendant of the devil was meant to show that he was from a not civilized, Barbar, and ruthless family. It might have insulted Syailendra, who was not known as the ruler of the mount (Poerbatjaraka, 1975, p. 30) and even expelled from Banyumas, but ruled Java after defeating the Sanjaya dynasty.

BAKA RIVER-PELUS RIVER

Baka river was believed to be an ancient river that experienced a narrowing and shallowing process and gradually became a small river. The western and eastern banks indicated that it used to be a wide river, while the Pelus river might have been a small one that became a broad and deep river due to ero-

sion and major water debit.

Pelus river flows to the Klawing river, so Pelus river was a tributary of the Klawing river. Klawing river was often contradicted with Serayu river. Serayu had its bead waters, named Tuk Bima Lukar, in Dieng Plateau. Serayu river came into existence because Werkudara used his genital to plough soil which became a river from Dieng to its estuary (Poerbatjaraka, 1992, p. 24). Meanwhile, Drona did the same, but due to his old age, he only made a much smaller river named Klawing.

The Klawing and Serayu River meeting in Kedung Benda, Purbalingga, was the background of the fight between Werkudara and Drona. In that fight, their genitalia of Drona got cut into pieces. The genital was the *lingga* (lingam, phallus), part of the Shiva temple. Besides *lingga*, there was also the yoni, so the meeting of the two rivers was the site of a temple where Shiva was worshipped (Zaehner, 1992, p. 94). Linga contained everything and was the world's axis, the symbol of Trimurti (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva), and other noble characters (Cardozo, 1954, p. 48). Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva were orthodox deities worshipped at Gunung Agung (Mount Agung), Bali (Mathews, 2012, p. 156). Gunung Agung was the derivation of Gunung Slamet of Bayumas. In Kedung Benda, many historical artifacts, such as golden jewelry, were discovered, especially after rainfall. Kedung Benda means an area which is the bank of the Serayu river, which is related to other Shiva worshipping sites along that river. Serayu river was identical to Bima or shiva cult. Its river bank was the site for Shiva worshiping, penetrating the inland areas through its tributary, Klawing, and Pelus.

If Serayu and Klawing rivers were male rivers as the personification of Werkudara and Drona, so was the Pelus river. In the Arcawinangun Pariksheet, Drona identified himself as the Maharshi. Mersi is a toponym passed by Pelus river, while Pelus river is a tributary of Klawing river representing the son of Drona, Ashwatthama. Pelus is the name of an animal, a vast eel that can live in salty and plain water. It lays its eggs in the sea and hatches them in the river. It feeds on small fish. (Alwi dkk., 2007, pp. 756 & 847; Yatim, 1999, pp. 120-121)

Pelus river can be the personification of Ashwatthama. Serayu River is big, Klawing is smaller, and Pelus is much smaller. That indicates that Ashwatthama has a low characteristic because he would only attack the Padhava family at night when they were sleeping, although it can be justified. After all, it was on the order of the Supreme God, Shiva

(Zaehner, 1992, p. 132). It also showed that Ashwatthama was not a real gentleman and deserved to be called a coward. With the help of his angelic mother, Dewi Wilotama and Kartamarma, he could only kill the small baby Pariksheet and the sleeping women. He sneaked into the palace of the Pandhava through an underground canal with the light given by his mother (Amrih, 2007, p. 108). Ashwatthama broke his promise of not turning around because his mother lightened the canal with her thighs (Munandar & Dabusubroto, 1958b, p. 13). He never got revenge on children and women (Last, 2012, p. 146). Pelus river is often associated with its custodian named Menyanggah. Menyanggah was a type of satan with a human head without a body (*cumplung*), with very long hair to catch its prey. Menyanggah was also often called *kaki* (older man) and *nini* (older woman). Therefore, it had sex, male and female. It appeared as hands to offer help but then dragged people to the river's bottom (Pelus). Menyanggah lived at the bottom of Pelus river with whirling water. Before becoming a Menyanggah, it had been a magically powerful man who had been playing by cutting his head and attaching it again to the body. However, on one occasion, the head fell into a river and could not be reattached again, and they had to live in the Pelus river ever since. The legend of the river is often linked to its custodian. The custodian of Pelus river is a pelus, the reincarnation of Raden Kaligenteng. Is Menyanggah Raden Kaligenteng's or Ashwatthama's reincarnation? Ashwatthama, in the final round of Bharatayuda was not beheaded. The character who experienced that was Drona, who was beheaded by Dhrishtadyumna (Munandar & Danusubroto, 1958a, p. 8). Menyanggah was the custodian of the Serayu river and was described as a very beautiful fay. It took the form of a human being from head to waist, but from the waist down, a fish with its fin. It had long loose hair (Sastroatmodjo, 1994, p. 27). The shape and beauty of Menyanggah of the Serayu river were similar to that of a mermaid. The story goes that Bhima (Werkudara) met a beautiful woman and said to her *sira* (you) *ayu* (beautiful). The phrase *sira ayu* becomes Serayu (Samsuri, 1982, p. 7).

Nevertheless, the woman was not named Menyanggah. There was no mention of Bhima's relationship with a woman in the story. It could be that the woman he met was a Menyanggah. Serayu river was always expressed as a male river, not as a female river, although the custodian had a female gender. If the sex of the custodian had been taken into account, it would have been a symbol as the

complement of *linga*, namely *yoni*.

The wicked *menyanggah* does not seem to be widely known among people who live along the rivers in the south of the Serayu river. In the area around Gawe and Banyumas river, the word Menyanggah is seldom heard as it is in the north of Serayu. That may be because the rivers in the south of Serayu tend to be shallow and have weaker currents, unlike the Pelus, Klawing and Pekacangan rivers. The tributary in the north tends to be deep and has a strong current. Unlike those in the north of Serayu river, people around the area of Bener river, which ends in Pelus river and begins in the Kecebur hamlet, Pajerukan village, the sub-district of Kalibagor, are also familiar with Menyanggah as an embodiment of female satan because of its long hair. Bener river in the village of Karangnanas, a sub-district of Sokaraja, is where the Baka river ends. Baka river, which passes Arcawinangun, is where Berkoh river ends. It seems that the legend of Menyanggah does not exist in the area of Baka, Berkoh, and Putih rivers, possibly because of their being shallow. Therefore, the natural challenge of the tributary river in the north (Pelus, Klawing, and Pekacangan) is more complex than in the south (Gawe and Banyumas rivers).

The people also know Menyanggah of Purbalingga, especially those around Klawing and the Pekacangan river. It shows that Menyanggah is evil. In principle, Bener, Pelus, and Klawing rivers are one. Bener river end in Pelus river. Pelus river ends in Klawing river in the Kecebur hamlet of Pajerukan village, sub-district of Kalibagor (not far from where Benser river ends). Pekacangan river ends in Klawing river, while Klawing ends in Serayu river. They unite with the Serayu river and have different colors from that of Serayu. The word Klawing may come from the word *kala* and *wingwing*. *Kala* can mean evilness, ghost, demon, or time (Prawiroatmodjo, 1988, p. 201), while *wingwing* means small dan slim (Prawiroatmodjo, 1989, p. 322). If Klawing means small and slim ghost, it means the same as Menyanggah. Therefore, the saga of Menyanggah lives among people along the stream of the Serayu river, which then spreads to those who live in the inland north of the Serayu river, and the small ghost transforms from a beautiful fairy into a cruel demon. When someone got drowned in the Serayu river, he/she would not be said to be eaten by Menyanggah, but Serayu got victims when the water was not deep. Therefore, parents always warn their children to be very careful when playing in the river. However, only when the water is shallow do people have the courage to

bathe in the Serayu river. During the deep water, people are not brave enough to do that or cross it.

GOLD WEALTH-PEOPLE POVERTY

In Arcawinangun sites, especially Pelus River, gold jewelry, such as rings and keris, were discovered. This discovery indicates that Arcawinangun has a potential history. The golden statue of Pradnja Paramita was also discovered. Based on the local people's belief, Arcawinangun people used to be the followers of Buddha. If a Buddhist died, his clothes and jewels were thrown into a river, so discovering gold jewels are natural. However, the political centre in the past also became the site where golden artefacts could be discovered. Center of political power is identical to gold wealth. Even the gold itself symbolizes power.

Further, gold becomes the symbol of the glory of power (Reid, 1992, p. 110). Therefore, the glory of a regime or ruler can also be seen from the gold it possesses. In inscriptions, for example, gold was given to those attending the ceremony of *man-usuk sima*, based on the status or position of the guest. Gold also symbolizes the status dan position of someone. Someone who possesses gold must come from a wealthy family: the wealthier, the heavier, and the better quality the gold. People from less wealthy background can only buy gold with less weight and quality. The 'have not' people will not be able to possess it, except the residents of Arcawinangun who discover the gold jewelry around the *Tanjlig (dam)* of Pelus river. The gold discovered was a treasure for the territory's residents around Pelus river. In the historical site of Arcawinangun, especially in the southwestern area, several remnants pervara temples can still be found. These perv temples were believed to be the origin of the word Aracawinangun. According to people's belief, in the cistern at the pervara temple, a gold miniature of the Borobudur temple was found. It was initially kept in a box, *nawasanga*, and the box was put in the cistern. Up to now, people still do not have the bravery to dismantle the pervara temple to get the treasure. If the belief can be proved, the value of the wealth in Arcawinangun is enormous. The more important thing is that it was a Buddhist temple like Sewu and Plaosan temple in Prambanan. That may be the only temple Balaputra could build, but he failed to change the Shiva into a Buddhist style. The gold wealth of Arcawinangun in th past is inversely proportional to the life of the current people. They tend to live as carpenters and bricklayers. Their income puts them in a low-income economy because their skills are only used when people ask

for their service to help them build houses and other construction projects.

Besides that, there are few paddy fields they can work in. Rarely do they earn a living as farmers because the land is arid and barren. In Arcawinangun, there is Tanah (land) Garing (dry, arid), which is used as a garden and farmland (not paddy field) or to build houses on, such as the residence compound of Purwawinangun. Their low income causes them not to have adequate education, their highest of which is only high school. It will make them work as a handyman as their parents do. Those who can afford high education are primarily from outside Arcawinangun or local people with a progressive orientation. State employees are outsiders.

Strangely, there are no rice sellers in Arcawinangun. There was a belief that if one sold rice in Arcawinangun, he would not get buyers. There arises a question of whether Arcawinangun belongs to *sima (perdikan)*, area of land not to be owned by an individual), where people are forbidden to sell food made of rice because such food is not for sale but to be given for free to the visitors of the Arcawinangun cemetery. If Arcawinangun has the status of *perdikan* land, it should be located around a temple because *perdikan* land is allocated for the maintenance of sacred buildings and things needed for ritual events or activities. People on it can only use and not have it. They are helpless when the village headman takes it back. Despite this, the people of Arcawinangun cannot be said to be lazy, as seen in Pasir and Cahyana. If Arcawinangun had had the status as *perdikan* land, it must have been during the Hindu-Buddhist period, not that of Islam. The status was not as straightforward as in the period of Islam. During the Islamic period, *perdikan* land was owned by *demang* (village headman) hereditary until the republic era. During the Hindu-Buddhist era, it was declared a hereditary possession eternally, but the ruler who declared that had disappeared from history. What is left is only a belief, for example, that no King's servant or Mangilala Drawya Haji (official kingdom) could enter *perdikan* land or that local people should provide a meal for free to visitors to any ancient sites to indicate that it was a site of worship or an embodiment of the king. The fact that very few people of Arcawinangun work as Mangilala Drawya Haji or sell rice which makes them live in poverty, is the legacy of the status of *perdikan* land from the Hindu-Buddhist era. There is also no trace of people's creativity like that owned by people of Pasir and Cahyana Perdikan land, who became traders outside their home village. People of

Arcawinangun are even forbidden to be farmers near or outside the village border. They end up being labor and shop assistant.

STANA MENCENG: THE SUN AGAINST THE MOON

Stana Menceng (a grave or *stana* not in line with the cardinal direction) is a site within the Arcawinangun cemetery that is not in line with the cardinal points. It is positioned in the southwest-northeast direction. Those two points of the compass in the teaching of *astabrata* indicate the position of *Suryya* (sun) and *Candra* (moon). The sun and moon worshipping is natural because the man used to think his god was the sun and the moon. After the sunset in the evening and the moon did not provide light for 15 days, he started questioning them as something to be worshipped. However, primitive people still worship them because they have already positioned their deities. Alternatively, *Suryya* God is the keeper of the universe balance, who always controls the sun's orbit (Amrih, 2008, p. 34). *Suryya* is the god that belongs to the gods of heaven (*Dyausthana*). He is the son of *Dyaus* and *Aditi*, frequently referred to as the son of *Dewi Fajar* (*Ushas*, Goddess of Dawn). *Suryya* is described as riding on a brightly shining chariot drawn by seven red horses or one seven-headed red horse (Cardozo, 1954, p. 95). Sun and moon worshipping was found in Canggal Inscription, which depicts *Sanjaya* as the sun and *Senna* as the moon (van der Meulen, 1988, p. 95). The king, portrayed as the sun, is wise in collecting taxes from the people gradually, while the moon symbolizes a manner that is forgiving, affectionate, honest, and peaceful. In his subject's eyes, *Senna* is their father who loves their children, whose smiles are like *amerta*, giving peace to the world. Moon god also symbolizes consistency between words and action.

Sanjaya as the follower of *Shiva* has attributes of fire, sun, and moon. The sun is related to world darkness because, in heaven, fire (*Agni*) is always reborn as the sun (Zaehner, 1992, p. 8). *Sanjaya* is described as having a moon crown with his hair decorated with the crescent moon. His skin is depicted as having the color of gold which melts due to the flame of the fire. The worshipping to fire, sun, and the moon was emphasized to replace the position of King *Bhane* (752 AD) and his offspring, *Wisnu* or *Dharmatungga* (775-782 AD), *Indra* or *Sanggramadhananjaya* (782-824 AD) and *Samaratungga* (824-832 AD) (de Casparis, 1956, pp. 207-210, Darmosoetopo, 2003, p. 31) *Rakai Panangkaran* who was of *Sanjaya* married a daugh-

ter of the moon from *Fu-nan* or *Syailendravamca* (Bosch, 1975, p. 24). In the literature *Rajya-raja i Bhumi Nusantara Parwa 2 Sargah 4*, *Rakai Panangkaran's* wife was from the *Syailendra* dynasty, named *Dewi Taraparamathama*. They got a daughter, *Yasodhara*, who married *Dharanindra*, and they got a son, *Samaragrawira* or *Samaratungga* (Ayatrohaedi & Atja, 1991, p. 67). It means that *Samaratungga* was the grandson of *Rakai Panangkaran*, which also means that the dynasty of *Sanjaya* and *Syailendra* had united since *Rakai Panangkaran*. *Dharanindra*, who was the son-in-law of *Rakai Panangkaran* was the complete name of King *Indra*. King *Indra* may be the same as *Indrawardhaya Wikramadewa* as written in *Prasasti Cipaku* (*Cipaku Inscription*). The name means The crusher of enemies who are wise and the hero of gods (Priyadi, 2000b). The title of *Indrawardhaya Wikramadewa* is almost the same as that given to King *Dharanindra* as written in the inscription *Ligor B* (*sarvvarimadavimathana*= the annihilator of arrogant enemies), *Kelurak* (*vairivaraviramardana*= the mighty destroyer of the enemies) and *Nalanda* (*viravairimathana*= the brave killer of the enemies) (Bosch, 1975, p. 24). The *Cipaku Inscription* is believed to be from the eighth and ninth centuries based on the style of the old Javanese letters used (Priyadi, 2000a).

Syailendra also worshipped fire, sun, and moon. However, it shifted to *Agni*, *Vishnu*, and *Sri*. It later added *Indra* (van der Meulen, 1988, p. 47). *Bhanu*, who was considered a king of *Syailendra* dynasty, and also *Dapunta Syailendra* were also *Shiva* worshippers (*Bhatara Paramecwara*) before converting to *Mahayana Buddhism* as indicated in *Prasasti Sojomerto* (*Sojomerto Inscription*) (Boechari, 1966, p. 243). The fire, sun, and moon worshipping in *Arcawinangun* was a reminder that the grave of *Mbah Kerta* was a *shiva*, not a *Buddhist temple*.

Stana Menceng was a tension between the light of the world and wisdom on one side and mercy, love, and genuine peace-giving on the other. They are the ideals of the *Arcawinangun* people, symbolized by *Stana Menceng*, which is related to the grave of *Mbah Kerta* as the embodiment of *Hariang Banga*, who is called *Krtabhuwanam* or *Krtabhavanam*. *Hariang Banga* was the son of *Rakai Panaraban*, the first King of *Pasirluhur*. The sun worship reminds us of the magic coconut shell *Batara Suryya* gave to *Yudhistira*. The shell provided food that was never over (Rajagopalachari, 2008, p. 497). The sun worship will also remind us of the *wayang* character *Karna* who was born as the son of

Batara Suryya and Kunti (Rajagopalachari, 2008, p. 507). Kunti got a holly *mantram* from Resi (Rishi) Durwasa, which she could use to call any god. Karna was born in Kunti and brought a holly weapon and earrings shining like a sun (Pendit, 1980, pp. 43-44; Amrih, 2007, p. 170). Kunti tried it by calling the Sun God and got pregnant. This pregnancy did not bring her shame because she regained her virginity soon after giving birth, thanks to the Sun God's supernatural power.

In Arcawinangun, there are several sites whose names bear the element of Surya, namely Suryakusuma, whose grave is in pairs. Suryakusuma means the offspring or having the sun's blood (Prawiroatmodjo, 1988, p. 281 & 1989, p. 222), referring to Adipati Karna, a character in the story of Mahabharata. There is also the site called Stana Rawen, whose gender is female. Should *Rawen* be derived from a Sanskrit *Rawi*, this site indicates the existence of sun worship (Mardiarsito, 1979, p. 468). From the *Rawi* comes Rawiputra and Rawisuta, which means Karna (Mardiarsito, 1979, p. 469). If Rawen has female gender, the possibility is that it refers to Dewi Kunti. Arcawinangun people created legends by making wayang-related sites to give the impression that the events in the wayang stories happened there. Therefore the site of Suryakusuma is located close to that of Stana Rawen. Meanwhile, Mersi people created the site Maharesi, the residence of Drona. The sites of Arcawinangun and Mersi are sites related to Astinapura.

In the history of cultures, the sun worship is known as *heliolithic*, which says that there has been a great diffusion that originated in Egyptian civilization moving eastward (Koentjaraningrat, 1982, p. 120). This theory is regarded as an oversimplification because the sun is known everywhere. The sun's rise and set and moon played an essential part in the mythology of primitive people (Cassirer, 1987, p. 70). The worship of the sun and the moon is also found in Bali. King Jayapangus, with his two wives, is mentioned in an inscription to symbolize the sun and moon. Jayapangus is called as Paduka Sri Maharaja Haji Jayapangus Arkajalancana. The element *arkaja* means son of the sun. His two wives are paduka Sri Parameswari Indujaketana and Paduka Sri Mahadewi Sasangkajacihna. *Induja* and *sasangka* mean moon lady. Therefore, they symbolize the union of the sun, moon, Saturn, and Mercury (Sumadio, 1984, p. 308). In the era of Majapahit, the sun was the symbol of a zone that consisted of 8 territories which formed an octagon (Priyadi, 2009, p. 146), which showed the vast extent of Majapahit influence in Nusantara.

The worship of Soma was based on nature because Soma is a kind of plant which grows in a mountainous area, to be extracted in the form of liquid. The liquid has intoxicating, energizing, and longevity effects. (Zaehner, 1992, p. 9). Soma is also a medicine called *amerta* (Cardozo, 1954, p. 21). This plant is also called the gold plant, which is also considered the offspring of heaven, although it is born in a mountainous area. Soma God is located near Indra. By consuming Soma, Indra got tremendous strength to defeat his enemies. Soma's presence is related to Indra God's creativity (Zaehner, 1992, pp. 9 & 11). On the one hand, Soma is known as the ruler of the rivers and the moon god. Moon is a drop of Soma liquid. Soma, together with Agni, is the god of rites and ceremonies. However, Rigveda views the sun and fire as a representation of Agni, higher than Soma (Cardozo, 1954, pp. 21-22). Ying Yang symbolizes the relationship between the sun and moon in Chinese philosophy. Yang means sunlight, while yin means the absence of sunlight (Xiao Chun, 1993, p. 26). Yang symbolizes masculinity, being in action, warmth, brightness, dryness, hardness, yin femininity, submission, coldness, darkness, wetness, and softness (Soemargono, 1990, p. 183).

CONCLUSION

People of Arcawinangun regard the episode of Parikshit, which is part of Bharatayuda, as sacred. Bharatayuda contains cruelties and violence, which is very saddening because of the mutual killing of a family. The story of Bharatayuda becomes a trauma for the people in Arcawinangun, so people make them sacred. People created non-sacred episodes with known characters to forget the cruelty and violence. These episodes are called *carangan*, not the primary or stem episode but branch episodes connected to the stem. That is not an easy thing to do because the wayang puppet performance was taboo at the beginning. The tension between Pelus and Baka river describes the dominant Shiva teaching as an influence of Serayu penetrating the inland areas. Pelus river is a tributary of Serayu. So is the Baka river, which ends in Bener river. Bener river ends in Pelus river. It shows that Pelus and Baka river, which passes Arcawinangun unites in Pajerukan, is in the sub-district of Kalibagor. The wider Pelus river inherits the legend of Menyanggah from the Serayu river through the Klawing river because Pelus river ends in the Klawing river.

Arcawinangun, a former residence of Buddhist people, is known as a place where gold jewelry, including the statue of Prajna Paramita, was dis-

covered. That is the opposite of the current situation in which people live in poverty. It is possible that Arcawinangun was a sima or perdikan land during the Hindu-Buddhist era, in which people did not have rights. Besides, the land of Arcawinangun was not suitable for farming and agriculture. Arcawinangun people do not have high ingenuity in facing the challenge of life, so they can only become handymen due to their low education. They inherit the worship of the sun and the moon, as can be seen from the existence of Stana Menceng. It is regarded as usual because both provide light to the earth. The tension between the sun and the moon is between the day and the night. The sun has more roles, so the Suryakusuma site and Stana Rawen were created.

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